CEYLON AND ITS PEOPLE

PUBLISHED SPECIALLY FOR AND ISSUED
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Kandy

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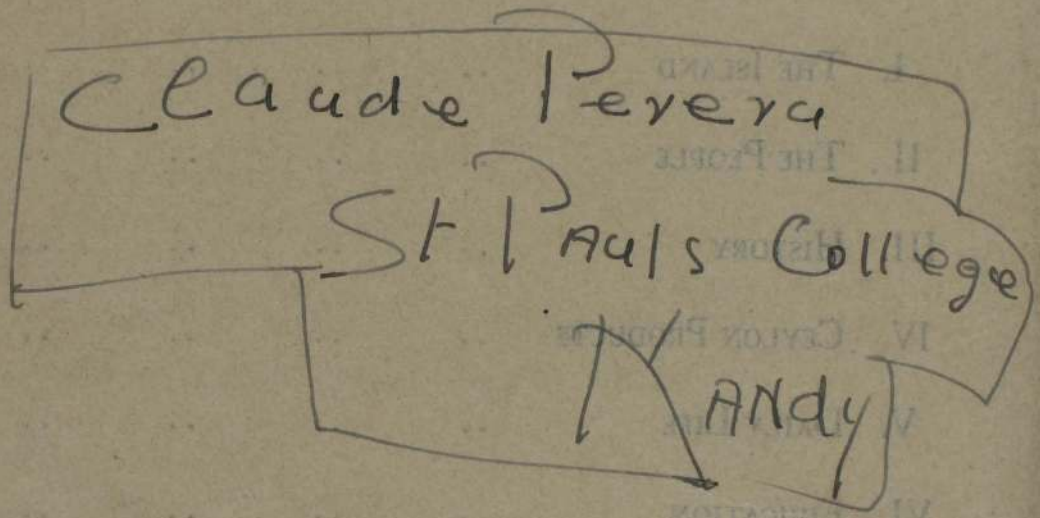
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I. THE ISLAND

THE name "Ceylon" is a corruption of the Sanskrit **Sinhaladipa**, the Island of the Sinhalese. It is often called **Lanka** or the Island, by the Sinhalese themselves. Though legally it is still a colony, it is not a Crown Colony, and the word is therefore never used. It should be called "Ceylon", or "the Island." Though originally it was the island of the Sinhalese, minority communities now make up a third of the population. Accordingly, the generic name for the people of Ceylon is not Sinhalese, but Ceylonese. "Sinhalese" is pronounced as if the two words "Sing" and "Halese" were run together and the aspirate made almost guttural. The spelling Singhalese is equally permissible but less common. The anglicised form, Cingalese, is never used.

Ceylon is geographically a shelf projecting southwards from India The water covering Adam's Bridge in the north-west is in fact so shallow that ships cannot pass round the north of the Island. The shelf ends abruptly ten to twenty miles from the coast for two thirds of the coast-line, with the result that from Puttalam round the south of the Island and up the east coast as far as Trincomalee there are practically no tides. In the south the daily fall may be only a few inches, while the spring tides for Colombo, Galle and Trincomalee are about 2.6 feet, 2.3 feet and 2.1 feet respectively. Consequently, strong points built near the water's edge would remain near it throughout the twenty-four hours and throughout the year. It follows also that the river mouths get silted up, and even the Mahaweli Ganga is not navigable except for very small boats in some sections. The natural harbours at Galle and Trincomalee are rock harbours, not river mouths, and Colombo Harbour is almost wholly artificial. The currents sweep round the coast from west to east during the south-west monsoon and from east to west during the north-east monsoon.

Ceylon is a lump of crystalline rock or granite, about half the size of England, in the shape of a pear. In the centre of the widest part is a stretch of hill-country occupying about one-fifth of the Island, from Kandy in the north to south of Adam's Peak. The division between the Low Country and the Hills is the fundamental division and has had important effects economically and politically. Ceylon lies wholly within

the Tropic of Cancer, and stretches roughly from 4 degrees north to ten degrees north. Consequently, the sun passes directly overhead twice in the year. It is directly overhead Colombo for instance at noon on the 8th April and the 5th September. It follows also that the days are almost equal throughout the year, the difference in Colombo being only 48 minutes between June 22nd and December 22nd.

Climate. The climate is determined primarily by the latitude; it is always warm because the sun's rays fall on the earth at a high angle from the horizontal and therefore with considerable intensity. It is, however, an equable climate because of the proximity of the sea and the high moisture content of the air, which among other consequences cause clouds to form in the heat of the day. Hardly a day passes without some cloud, but hardly a day without sun. There is very little variation is temperature between day and night or between one part of the year and another. The only way to get cool is to go into the hills. A blanket is seldom needed in Colombo, but two blankets may be required in Nuwara Eliya.

The two monsoons also play a large part in the climate. Ceylon is in the Doldrums or Equatorial Belt of Calms, so that winds rarely attain gale force and pressure variations are small. Strong winds will be noticed only along the coast and on the edges of the hills. The south-west monsoon is the more important of the two monsoons. During the summer month the land mass of India becomes heated and a belt of low pressure is set up, with the result that air moves in from the Indian Ocean. Ceylon is on the edge of this movement and for about three months of the year, from about the middle of May to the middle of August, the wind is almost consistently in a south-westerly direction. Six months later the reverse process sets in, so that from the middle of November to the middle of February the wind is generally from the north-east.

The importance of the monsoons can, however, be exaggerated. The north-east appears to be a cool wind but in fact the variation in mean temperature in Colombo is only 3.6 degrees while in Trincomalee it is only 7 degrees. Nor does it vary with the winds. As in most countries with equable climates it lags behind the sun. Also, contrary to the popular belief, the monsoons do not "break" with heavy rainfall. The heavy rains set in before the monsoons, though it is true that the heaviest rainfall of all in Colombo generally coincides with the beginning

of the south-west monsoon. The monsoons may cause some rain to fall, but the rainy season is in the main the result of other causes. The rainy seasons in Colombo are from April to June and from September to November. In Trincomalee there is only one, from October to January. These are not coterminous with the monsoon periods. The normal rainfall is in any case high because the air is always moist and any variation in pressure causes rain to fall. In particular, the heavy evaporation causes clouds to form during the day and, when the cooling of the earth towards evening sets up vertical air currents, the rain begins to fall. Hence for several months of the year " it always rains at sundown." This is likely to be so in Colombo from October to April. For most of the year there is least rain in the middle of the day.

The rainfall is, however, spread very unevenly over Ceylon. Most parts receive more rain than, say, London. London has about 25 inches in the year, whereas in Ceylon most parts of the dry zone have more than 50 inches. The rate of evaporation is so high that 50 inches is not enough to keep a" green and pleasant land " throughout the year except by tank irrigation. Drought conditions generally prevail in two coastal belts, from Chilaw to the Jaffna Peninsula in the north-west, and from Tangalla to Pottuvil in the south-east. The hinterland of these forms the dry zone

The " wet zone," where there is often too much rain, is south-west of the hills, and includes the coastline from Colombo to Galle.

The following chart gives the average monthly rainfall in inches and the mean monthly temperatures in Colombo, Kandy and Trincomalee :—

Monsoon		Colombo Rain	Colombo Heat	Kandy Rain	Kandy Heat	Trincomalee Rain	Trincomalee Heat
N.E.	January	3.45	79.0	5.18	74.5	6 67	78.7
	February	1.97	79.8	2.21	76.0	2.07	80.4
	March	4.72	81.4	4.00	78.3	1.67	82.6
	April	7.99	82.6	6.66	79.0	1.92	85.2
S.W.	May	13.38	82.6	5.69	78.7	2.44	86.2
	June	8.25	81.6	9.45	76.6	1.25	85.6
	July	6.71	81.0	7.49	75.8	2.08	85.2
	August	3.25	81.1	5.76	75.8	3.99	84.8
	September	6.38	81.0	6.02	75.8	4.41	84.6
	October	13.09	80.3	11.71	75 8	8.34	82.6
	November	11.71	79.6	10.59	75.4	14.03	80.0
N.E.	December	5.38	79.0	8.95	74.5	14.16	78.6

Water Supply

Except the Jaffna Peninsula, which is formed of limestone, Ceylon is composed of crystalline rock or "granite." In the low country, however, the granite is covered by a thick layer of a sort of porous clay known as "kabouk." At normal times in the hills water can be obtained from numerous springs due to folds in the granite. In the low country the kabouk holds the water, which can therefore be obtained easily by digging wells. The limestone in the Jaffna Peninsula also holds a great deal of water, but in many places it is so strongly impregnated with salt as to be unusable for drinking purposes. The amount of water available depends, of course, on the rainfall. There is almost always a shortage of water in the two very dry areas, the north-west coast from Puttalam to Jaffna, and the south-east around Hambantota. The central area, including the west coast from Negombo to Galle, always has enough water and often too much. Elsewhere in Ceylon there may be periods of drought. The general rule is that areas with an average annual rainfall of at least 75 inches always have plenty of water, while those below 50 inches usually have too little.

The heavy rainfall in certain parts of Ceylon added to the silting up of the rivers makes flooding a frequent occurrence. It is possible for Ceylon to have in a day as much rain as London has in a year. At Nedunkeni in December, 1897, there fell 31.72 inches of rain in 24 hours. Nearly all the rivers are capable of being flooded but the most serious floods generally occur in the valleys of the Kelani Ganga which flows into the sea north of Colombo and of the Mahaweli Ganga which skirts Kandy and flows into the sea in the region south of Trincomalee. The Mahaweli floods may cut off the direct route between Kandy and Colombo and make the Trincomalee communications difficult. The A. A. of Ceylon has a flood service through which the latest information is available

Disease

For an island less than ten degrees from the Equator Ceylon is a healthy place. Neither cholera nor smallpox is endemic though there are occasional outbreaks due to infection brought in from outside. There is very little plague and not much sleepy-sickness and leprosy. Care should always be taken over the water supply since there is a fair amount of

enetric fever and dysentery. There is a substantial amount of hook-worm and the troops should be forbidden to walk about with bare feet. This is also necessary to prevent the minor affection known on this Island as "Ceylon foot" though elsewhere it is known as "Singapore foot," "Hong Kong foot" and various other names. After bathing the feet must always be well dried. Venereal disease is unfortunately as prevalent as in any other country of the world and 10 per cent. of the urban population is believed to be infected.

The great scourge is, however, malaria. The dry zone is almost entirely malarial, at least at some seasons, the exceptions being the tip of the Jaffna Peninsula, a small area around Trincomalee, and a coastal strip from Batticaloa to Pottuvil. It is, however, possible to get malaria anywhere. Stagnant water should always be oiled and the banks of rivers and slow-moving streams should as far as possible be avoided. Old tins and other receptacles capable of holding rain water should be systematically buried.

II. THE PEOPLE

THE majority of the inhabitants of Ceylon are **Sinhalese**. They are of Aryan stock: that is they belong to the group of nations speaking an Indo-European language. Sanskrit is the oldest of these languages, among the others being Persian, Greek, Latin, Celtic and Gothic. In other words, if one can speak of "race" at all, the four nations of the British Isles, the Germans and the Sinhalese, among others, belong to one race. Linguistically and culturally the affinities of the Sinhalese are with North India. There is much less affinity with the **Tamils** and other South Indian peoples, who are of Dravidian stock. There has, however, been much Dravidian influence on the Sinhalese. In particular, their caste system (such as it is) came from South India; the language has been somewhat influenced by Tamil and their religion contains many Hindu elements. It is perhaps a purely sentimental factor, but educated Sinhalese often say that they feel more at home in North India than they do in the South.

The Sinhalese make up about 67 per cent. of the population. They are, however, divided into two sections, the Low-Country Sinhalese and the Kandyan Sinhalese, the people of the plains and the people of the hills. The Low-Country Sinhalese inhabit the most densely populated and the richest part of Ceylon in the western and southern provinces. They were more easily overrun by western nations, and they have in consequence been more westernised. They form the majority of the population in the districts of Chilaw, Colombo, Kalutara, Galle, Matara and Hambantota. The Kandyans put up a much stouter resistance to the Europeans and in fact may be said never to have been overcome. Their territory came under British control in 1815 with the assistance of their chiefs. They form the majority of the population in the districts of Anuradhapura, Kurunegala, Matale, Kegalla, Badulla and Ratnapura. Since 1818, however, there has been a large influx of Low-Country Sinhalese into most of these districts, and in Kurunegala and Ratnapura they form over ten per cent. of the population. The districts of Kandy and Nuwara Eliya, which historically are in the centre of the Kandyan

country, now have such a mixed population that the Kandyans are in a minority. It is one of the grievances of the Kandyans that, since they are a conservative people, positions of affluence in the Kandyan Kingdom have been taken by other peoples. Also, they feel strongly about the intrusion of the plantations, which are generally European-owned and are worked by Indian Tamil labour. The tea estates are almost entirely in Kandyan territory, and so are a majority of the rubber estates.

The Sinhalese are almost all Buddhists, though the Low-Country Sinhalese, especially among the urban and coastal population, have been much affected by Christianity. Their caste system is not highly developed, having been taken over from the Tamils and not being wholly consistent with Buddhism. Their family system is strong, and they are particularly tenacious of their family and ancestral lands and paddy fields. Care must therefore be taken not to make too ruthless encroachments on them even for military purposes. The position of women is comparatively free for an Eastern country: the purdah system is neither Buddhist nor Hindu, and thus has no application to Ceylon outside the Muslim community. At the same time, it must be remembered by European troops that any oriental woman is easily insulted or offended, and that the kind of badinage which would be permissible in a European country will meet with disfavour in all but the most westernised parts of Colombo. The Sinhalese women have adopted the Indian saree for more formal occasions, but the ordinary villager wears a blouse (said to be of Portuguese origin) and a long skirt.

Speaking generally, the reputation of the Sinhalese as labourers is not great. Where they take to skilled trades, they are usually very good at them; but many of them do not take kindly to constant manual labour. The cultivation of their paddy fields is limited to the production of food for the homestead. Being strongly attached to their ancestral soil, they can rarely be attracted away from their villages by promise of better land, and they are certainly not prepared to leave them for the dry zone merely on the prospect of greater affluence in the future. Higher wages even will not always tempt them. For these reasons, the Sinhalese is generally said to be lazy. It is perhaps truer to say that he is a "gentleman." He works to keep his family (a very wide term which will include all his dependent relatives); and when he has done that he does not

want more. This has been one of the reasons for the importation of Indian Tamil labour. It should also be remembered that the quality of all Ceylonese labour has been much affected by malnutrition, malaria and hookworm.

The **Ceylon Tamils** are of a different stamp. They are of the same Dravidian stock as the Tamils of South India. Strictly speaking, it is not a racial stock. The early Dravidians mixed with other races in India, some of whom adopted their language. Accordingly, the word designates a language group made up of those who speak the four Dravidian languages, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese and Telugu. The Tamils came to Ceylon from the earliest times, but mixed with the Sinhalese and adopted their languages. Consequently, there are no great physical differences between the two races, though there are facial differences which are more easily noticed than described. In the later period there has been less mixing of the races. This is due to the invasions from India, which pressed the Sinhalese back from the "tank country" of the North Central Province and Eastern Province into the hills and the wet lands of the west and south. The Ceylon Tamil thus developed a territory of his own, in which his innate conservatism and the pertinacity of his customs enabled him to maintain an existence largely separate from that of the Sinhalese. In some respects, as in language, the Ceylon Tamils have been less affected by outside influences than the Indian Tamils.

The Ceylon Tamils form some 12 per cent. of the population. They are more than half the population in the districts of Jaffna (which is over 90 per cent. Tamil), Mannar, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee and Batticaloa. In other words, they mainly occupy the northern tip of the Island and the eastern coastal belt. The Tamils are mostly Hindus of the Saivite cult. There is however, a high proportion of Christians, partly because of the greater activity of the Christian missions in the North, and partly because it was easier for the theistic Hindus than for the non-theistic Buddhist to change to the mono-theism of Christianity. Nevertheless, Christianity has not seriously interfered with the intense family life of the Jaffna Tamil, as his kadjan fences bear witness. The seclusion of women of the upper classes is much more common. The saree is the ordinary dress for women of all classes. Tamils almost always abstain from eating pork or beef, and many are strict vegetarians.

Both in their country of origin and in their country of adoption, the Tamils have lived in a dry inhospitable climate where Nature has not been bountiful and a living can be obtained only by hard persistent labour. The Ceylon Tamils are therefore remarkable for their thrift and industry. In fact, they are often called the Scots of Ceylon, and the joke about Aberdeen is in Ceylon a joke about Jaffna. The Jaffna man who "goes in for" education does it with the same thoroughness and persistence as he uses to wring a living from his lands. He is, however, a stern individualist and, often, a materialist. If he is set to do a job he wants a *quid pro quo* but, if that is forthcoming, he can be relied upon to do it with thoroughness, intelligence, perseverance and initiative. Nor must the assumption that he wants something for his trouble be pressed too far. Among the more educated Ceylon Tamils there has been a considerable development of public spirit. The Jaffna man will help his own people in much the same way as the Scot.

It must be remembered, too, that the Ceylon Tamil is generally a high-caste man. This is one of the points of distinction from the **Indian Tamil** found in Ceylon, among whom representatives of the higher castes are rare. Sinhalese labour for the estates, the roads, harbour work, etc. being difficult to obtain large numbers of Indian Tamil labourers have been imported. These labourers have in some cases been in Ceylon for three generations. They belong to what the planters call "the coast," *i.e.* the Coromandel Coast of South India. The Carnatic is over-populated, and the standard of living is appallingly low. Wages in Ceylon are comparatively high, and it was therefore possible for "kanganies" to recruit gangs of Indian Tamil labourers for periods of service in Ceylon. They lived in "lines," with or without their families but they returned periodically to "the Coast." When they had saved enough, they returned home, perhaps to live on their savings, perhaps to eke them out by the cultivation of the family lands. In recent years legislation both in India and Ceylon has altered conditions. In particular, the Indian Tamil has no guarantee that he will be able to return to Ceylon if he goes home. Accordingly, he is tending to stay in the Island. Also, he is beginning to claim "rights." He has had the vote since 1931, and is developing a sense of his own importance. In fact, of course, he is extremely important, because if the Indian Tamils went home there

would be insufficient manual labour in Ceylon. What stops him from going home is the certainty that he would be unemployed and the probability that he would not be able to return because of the restrictions imposed by the Government of India. Since most of the labour employed on military works is Indian Tamil, great care must be taken to give them adequate protection, sufficient food and attractive conditions generally.

The Indian ban on emigration of unskilled labour to Ceylon has also produced another result. The Tamil labourers were governed by a paternal system. They are generally docile people, capable of running amok, but generally responsive to kindly treatment from the "dorai" or master. The dorai's remedy for insubordination was dismissal. The labourer then returned to India and, in due course, joined another gang. Now, he cannot be certain that he will return and must therefore hold his job. This makes him not more submissive but less, because if his dorai dismisses him he is not prepared to go without complaint, as he would do if he could be certain of getting another job. This, combined with his political importance, has led to the formation of trade unions. The name is misleading, because they bear little relation to English trade unions. They are not run by genuine workers and are in competition with each other. Their main purpose is to stop dismissals, and the labourer joins for no other reason. He therefore joins the union which is most successful in preventing dismissals, and this makes the unions take up even the cases where there is every justification for dismissals. On the one hand, therefore, the employers have lost their old powers of control. On the other hand is a labour force, supported by trade union "leaders" who make a living from their jobs, which is no longer docile. Hence the numerous labour troubles. The solution lies in persuading the trade unions to act as such, and on the other hand in persuading the employers that the old days have gone for good and that they can no longer treat their labourers as children. As great care must be taken of the labour force as would be taken in Great Britain. They should not be regarded, or spoken of, as "coolies"—the term is in fact forbidden. In addition there are in normal times many Indians engaged in trade in Ceylon. The Pettah or bazaar section of Colombo is largely Indian.

The Sinhalese and the Tamils together make up about 86 per cent. of the population of the Island. The only other large group consists

of the **Ceylon Moors**, of whom there are some 300,000. They are descendants of Arab traders who came to Ceylon from the earliest time for the purpose of trade. Hence they were particularly numerous in Colombo and Galle, the two seaports used for the export of cinnamon, pepper, and other indigenous products. The Pettah a generation ago was almost entirely Moor, but has now passed mainly into the hands of Indians. With the opening of the Kandyan Kingdom after 1818, the Moors gradually developed trade in the districts of Matale and Kandy. They are also fairly numerous in the north-western and eastern coastal belts.

The Moors are generally traders, wholesale and retail. It will generally be found that the shopkeepers, and especially the keepers of boutiques (*i.e.* small shops) are either Ceylon or Indian Moors. The boutique-keepers, especially the Indians, are not particularly popular. Retail trade in Ceylon is carried on largely by credit, the purchaser being always in debt. The boutique-keeper may also be a money-lender. There is much ground for saying that the riots of 1915 had primarily an economic cause. It is true that the original outbreak in Kandy was due to religious disputes between Sinhalese celebrating the Buddhist festival of Wesak and the Muslims, but the subsequent looting of boutiques, which was the cause of the declaration of martial law, was due to the fact that the more lawless elements seized the opportunity to attack the most unpopular people in the Island. It must not be assumed that there is any likelihood of a repetition of the early stages of the 1915 riots; but it would be wise to remember that if looting occurred during air raids the first attacks would probably be made on the boutiques operated by Indian Moors. The home language of the Ceylon Moors is mainly Tamil, though some speak Sinhalese. Their religion is invariably Muslim, and they have hardly been touched at all by the efforts of the Christian missionaries. The Muslims generally practise the purdah system. The Moors are easily distinguished by the red fez.

The small community known as the **Afghans** must be mentioned particularly because, though few in number, they are extremely unpopular and the slightest relaxation of law and order would produce attacks on them. They are Muslims from North India engaged mainly in money-lending in Colombo. They stand about the streets waiting for customers or before the doors of their debtors waiting for payment.

They are tall, look rather fierce, and generally carry a stick. They are also easily distinguishable by their costume. They wear the cloth in Indian style so that it looks like a pair of baggy trousers. Over it is a long loose coat of white or khaki cotton reaching almost to the knees. On top of that is a waistcoat of black velvet or dark cloth, generally with a watch-chain. On the head is a large turban with a flowing end.

The **Malays** are a small group of Muslim descendants of a Malay Regiment brought in by the Dutch. They make good troops and good policemen, and they are also largely represented among the motor drivers. They are nearly all Muslims and in their homes speak a form of colloquial Malay, but outside the home they speak Tamil and some of them English also. They dress like the Sumatran Malay in a skirt (sarong) and coat with a cap of Sumatran patterned cotton cloth.

The **Burghers** are descendants of Dutch settlers brought in during the Dutch occupation of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. They were encouraged to inter-marry with the Sinhalese and Tamils, and most Burgher families have some admixture of oriental blood. On the whole, however, they have kept their European habits, and only in a few cases do they look and speak like the Sinhalese or Tamils. They generally wear European clothes and speak English, though many of them also speak Sinhalese or Tamil. They retain the solid reliability of their Dutch ancestors and have a long tradition of Government service under British rule.

III. HISTORY

It would be wearying to the reader to traverse the 2,400 years and more since the Sinhalese arrived in Ceylon. The history of Ceylon is, however, an important element in the present relations between the Ceylonese people and the Imperial troops. The educated Ceylonese is aware that there was a flourishing and highly cultured civilisation existing in Ceylon long before the Anglo-Saxons were established in England, and that while Europe was in the dark ages Ceylon had a culture which was known from Egypt to China. The Tamil tends to look back even further, for he regards the history of Ceylon as part of the history of India, and points to traces of a great Dravidian civilisation throughout India before the Aryan peoples, from whom sprang the Greeks, the Romans and the Sinhalese, were heard of.

For more than a thousand years there was a great Sinhalese civilisation centred around Anuradhapura. It was based on agricultural prosperity due to thousands of " tanks " or reservoirs, built with immense engineering skill. Engineering principles which are of comparatively recent discovery in Europe were known to the Sinhalese, who were famous for their irrigation system throughout the East. On the basis of this prosperity, a notable culture developed. The Buddhist religion which reached Ceylon some two hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era was, and is, highly philosophical, requiring for its understanding a very high intellectual training. Anuradhapura thus became not merely a centre of a great agricultural industry, but also a centre of culture. With it came the great arts of peace—painting, sculpture, and architecture above all. The city, with its vast monuments and great parks, must have been one of the wonders of the world. A country so rich was naturally a prey to invaders, and in any case the history of Ceylon during this period, as in most others, was one of constant internal conflict.

The infiltration of Tamils from South India did not, however, result in what would nowadays be called a minority question. The Sinhalese and the Tamils intermarried and created a new Sinhalese civilisation strongly impregnated with Dravidian elements. Agricultural developments had been taking place southwards and eastwards, and in the early

part of the eleventh century the capital was shifted to Polonnaruwa. Around that city there developed a second Ceylonese civilisation, not purely Aryan like that around Anuradhapura, but a Sinhalese civilisation under strong Tamil influences. The Sinhalese kingdom thus created was powerful enough to unite the whole of Ceylon and even to capture part of South India. The frequent wars and rebellions, however, sent it rapidly in decline, the "bunds" or walls of the tanks were breached and the irrigation silted up. Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa are now mainly ruins in the jungle, and what prosperity there was in Ceylon before the coming of the Europeans was based on the products of the jungle in the wet lands on the western seaboard.

These forest products brought in first the Arabs or Moors and then the Europeans in search of trade in cinnamon and other valuable spices. They established themselves on the sea coast and gradually extended their jurisdiction. Meanwhile, however, the Tamil infiltration had continued: but whereas the Tamils had previously mixed with the Sinhalese, they were now separated by the jungle and the desert. After the middle of the fifteenth century there were always at least three kingdoms in Ceylon, a Tamil kingdom at Jaffna, a Sinhalese kingdom at Kandy, and another Sinhalese kingdom based on some town in the maritime provinces. The Portuguese and the Dutch brought Jaffna and the low country under European control, but Kandy held out until the Convention between the British and the Kandyans in March, 1815.

The history of this Kandyan kingdom is important because for over three hundred years it kept the Europeans at bay. The Kandyans became adepts at jungle warfare, and every European expedition from the first Portuguese expedition in 1594 to the second British expedition in 1804 was unsuccessful. Though there was rarely any great difficulty in getting to Kandy, there was always great difficulty in getting out again. The Kandyan tactics were thus described by a Dutch officer: "Conscious of their inability to resist the regular attack of European troops and aware of the advantage they possess in being familiar with the country and inured to the climate, the Kandyan generals avoid close combat, preferring an irregular and desultory warfare. They harass the enemy in his march, hanging on his flanks, cutting of his supplies, interrupting the communication between his divisions, and occupying the heights

which command the passes, they fire with perfect security from behind rocks and trees . . ." Under strong kings, they were not only able to repel invaders, but even on occasions to descend into the low-country and besiege Colombo. The only conqueror of Kandy was a Sinhalese, Rajasinha, King of Sitawaka (in the low-country outside Portuguese territory), who captured Kandy when it was supported by the Portuguese. He was described by the Portuguese themselves as " a mighty general, endowed with a military genius akin to that of Hannibal, Alexander and Caesar."

The final subjection of Kandy came about not through conquest but through internal dissension. The first British expedition to Kandy never got back, and the second had to beat a masterly retreat. In 1814, however, some important Kandyan chiefs rebelled against their king and took refuge in Colombo, where they sought the aid of a British force. The Kandyan king found himself bereft of all support and was captured. The Convention of 1815 maintained the essence of Kandyan independence, but the chiefs found that they had exchanged a Kandyan King who depended on them for a British King who depended on his own troops. A rebellion in 1818 was too ill-organised to succeed and, after it had been ruthlessly put down, Kandy was for practical purpose incorporated into the colony of Ceylon. The process was completed in 1834. Meanwhile, the British administration had carried out the policy of Governor Barnes : " first roads, second roads, and third roads "; and the roads ushered out the era of Kandyan chiefs and ushered in the era of European planters.

The lessons to be learned from the history of Ceylon may therefore be stated as follows : —

(1) The Sinhalese and the Tamils are the heirs of civilisations far older than any that have flourished in Europe, civilisations which have attained and retain a high degree of culture. Even the villager who cannot read and write passes down from father to son by word of mouth a vast store of knowledge. It would be foolish and insulting to speak of " ignorant natives."

(2) This civilisation has entailed a high degree of technical skill and taste still exhibited, for instance, in Sinhalese pottery

and Kandyan silverware, but shown far more by the vast irrigation systems of the dry zone.

(3) There has never been any real conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamils. What history shows is the inability of the Ceylonese to combine against the foreigner. At no time since 1200 have they been united, but the conflict has never been communal. It was a struggle for power among powerful chiefs. Consequently, there are no historic antagonisms to be overcome, but there is a firm foundation on which a spirit of national service can be built up.

(4) While Hinduism and Buddhism unlike Mohammedanism are essentially pacifist religions, the history of Kandy does not suggest that the Sinhalese tradition is lacking in martial spirit. Comparatively few in number, ill-equipped, and often led by self-seeking chiefs, the Kandyans made it impossible for the Portuguese and too troublesome for the Dutch, to overcome them. They assisted Nature to fight for them for three hundred years.

IV. CEYLON PRODUCTS

CEYLON derives its wealth from agriculture. There are no accurate figures of the area devoted to the various crops, but the following figures (in acres) will give a general idea :

Coconuts	1,100,000
Paddy	850,000
Rubber	604,000
Tea	557,000
Chena Products	77,000
Arecanuts	69,000
Palmyra	50,000
Cacao	34,000
Citronella	33,000
Vegetables	32,000
Other grains	28,000
Cinnamon	26,000
Tobacco	14,000

Coconuts are to be found nearly everywhere, but the important areas for their cultivation are the coastal belt from Puttalam to beyond Matara and the districts of Colombo and Negombo. In the Jaffna Peninsula they rival with palmyra. In these and many other areas the land-owning villager usually has a few trees in his compound, but for the most part coconuts are grown in large and small estates, owned either by Ceylonese companies or by individual Ceylonese proprietors. The small individual proprietor lives on his estate and cultivates it with the assistance of his family, and perhaps also with a little hired labour. The coconuts provide food and drink. The kernels are rich in oil, though they are used rather as a relish than as a staple food. The young green coconuts provide an excellent drink, though the yellow or " King " coconuts are better for this purpose. This drink is known as coconut water, not coconut milk, as the water from mature coconuts is called in England. Coconut milk in Ceylon consists of grated kernel beaten up in coconut water. It provides an excellent sauce for stewed or tinned fruit or sago.

Coconut buds and palmyra buds are " tapped " for the liquid known as toddy. Unfermented or " sweet toddy " is a very refreshing and

nourishing drink, though it has a somewhat musty odour which Europeans find objectionable. Toddy contains a good deal of sugar, which can be refined as "jaggery" and converted into a very attractive sweetmeat. If toddy is left to stand without lime, however, the sugar ferments and makes a potent alcoholic drink. It should be remembered, however, that most Buddhists object to alcoholic liquors, and drunkenness among the troops would not be well received.

Coconuts provide more than food and drink, however. The trees are very tough and are used for building. The leaves (like palmyra leaves) are woven into "kadjan," which provides excellent protection against rain and sun. Under rain, the kadjan swells and so provides good cover. The simplest and in many cases the best building is the kadjan shed. Kadjan is also used for baskets. The fibre from coconuts is spun as "coir" (pronounced almost in the French manner as "kwar"), which is used for mats, brushes, mattresses (though kapok is better for this purpose) and rope. The pressed kernels are used for fodder in the form of coconut poonac and coconut oil is used for lighting purposes. In short, the coconut tree is "the Universal Provider of the East."

There is a large export trade in coconuts and coconut products. In 1938, 16 million fresh coconuts, were exported. Dried coconut kernels are known as "copra" and are exported in that form, chiefly for the extraction of coconut oil, the manufacture of margarine, oil cake, etc. In 1938, 75,000 tons were exported. The kernels are also chipped and dried so as to be exported as "desiccated coconut," of which 30,000 tons were exported in 1938. In the same year, 75,000 tons of coconut oil, 36,000 tons of coconut fibre, 36,000 tons of coconut poonac, and 4,600 tons of coir yarn, were exported. Accordingly, a substantial section of the population is dependent on the growing of coconuts and the manufacture of coconut products. In substantial measure the manufacture of coconut products is a village industry ancillary to agriculture, so that the owner of a paddy field may also be a kadjan weaver or a maker of coir yarn and coir products.

Paddy is unhusked rice and forms the staple diet of the villages. Most varieties must be grown in water and therefore only where the supply of water is good. The early Sinhalese settlers cultivated paddy in the dry zone by building huge "tanks" or reservoirs in the region around

Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, but a great part of these areas has reverted to jungle, and only in the later British period has there been any serious effort to restore the tanks. There are very few large rice estates, and paddy is rarely grown on a commercial scale, though it can be bought in the village fairs. The rice from Ceylon paddy is known as "country rice." It is more nutritious and better food value than the polished rice which hitherto has been imported from India and Burma. Also, the exclusive use of polished rice is said to cause beri-beri. Nevertheless the popular taste is for imported rice of various kinds. In particular, the Indian Tamil workers who do most of the manual labour in Ceylon have hitherto refused any other kind. Hence arises one of the major difficulties of the present war. It was not uncommon for manual workers to get through ten measures of rice a week. Under the rationing scheme only one measure a week is given. One of the reasons for the evacuation of Indian labour to India was the shortage of rice, and some Ceylonese labour has returned to the villages in order to share in the village paddy.

Where there is plenty of water, there are two crops of paddy every year. The maha crop (monmari in Tamil) is sown from the end of August to the middle of October, gets the benefit of the rains before and at the beginning of the north-east monsoon, and is reaped in February or March. The yala crop (pinmari in Tamil) is sown in March or April, gets the benefit of the rains at the beginning of the south-west monsoon, and is reaped between July and September. The methods of cultivation are very primitive and the yields correspondingly low, though nothing can be done about it so long as most paddy fields are so small. A primitive plough is pulled along by buffalo and furrows the ground. There is a second ploughing some days later, and on this occasion green manure ought to be ploughed in, though generally it is not. In countries where the yield is high, transplanting is resorted to, but this is rarely done in Ceylon. The irrigation system which keeps water running through a paddy field is ingenious and complicated and should not be disturbed by military operations unless disturbance is absolutely unavoidable.

Rubber and tea are almost entirely in European hands. Rubber is grown mainly in the wet zone at the foot of the hills, the most important areas being the Kegalla and Kalutara districts. Tea is grown mainly on the sides of the hills. Thus, the road from Colombo to Kandy goes

through coconut plantations from Colombo to Ambepussa, then through rubber to a few miles the Colombo side of Kandy, and finally reaches the tea country. Many estates, however, cultivate both rubber and tea, the former on the lower slopes, the latter on the higher slopes.

The raw rubber or latex is the juice of the tree, and is obtained by "tapping." A sloping cut is made in the bark so that, in the early morning while the latex runs freely, it can be collected in coconut shells and transferred to buckets. It is taken immediately to the factory, where it is strained, diluted with water, and poured into vats where acetic acid is mixed in. Having coagulated in the vats it is kneaded, rolled and passed through a machine, from which it emerges as sheets which can be hung up to be smoked and dried. An alternative method is to secure quicker coagulation and to put through a machine which produces much thinner sheets almost like lace. These are dried by hot air and rolled into blanket crepe. Crepe rubber can be produced within twenty-four hours from tapping. Since Ceylon is now the only large rubber-producer not in enemy hands, the rubber is extremely valuable for war purposes, and every effort should be made to avoid interference with rubber estates and to give the planters as much assistance as they can be spared. In normal times, Ceylon exports something like a hundred and eighty million pounds of rubber a year.

Tea grows best above 3,000 feet and is therefore most common in the Kandy, Nuwara Eliya and Badulla districts. In the main (unlike rubber) it uses lands which otherwise would be unproductive. Tea is made from the tender young shoots of the tea bush, which is a species of 'Cammelia' (the story that certain teas use only the edges of the leaves being advertiser's licence). The bushes are pruned every two or three years in order to encourage the growth of new shoots and to prevent them from becoming too high. They are usually sheltered by trees, which also serve to conserve the soil. The "leaf" is picked by women, usually Tamils, and taken to the factory, where it is spread out on trays to be withered. The withered leaf is then rolled in machines and emerges as large masses which are broken up by a roll-breaker and the coarse leaf separated by a sifter. It is then spread on glass or mats and allowed to ferment and oxidise. At the required moment, it is removed to the drying machine and emerges as the "tea" known to the housewife.

Something between 200 million and 250 million pounds is exported every year, mostly to Great Britain.

Approximately 90% of the resident labour of the Tea and Rubber Estates is composed of South Indian Tamils who live with their families in " Lines " which normally consist of a row of rooms built to standards prescribed by Government. Many estates also use Sinhalese labour most of which reside in nearby villages. Carpenters, mechanics, masons and other skilled workers are mostly Sinhalese.

Estate Superintendents or " Planters " live in well built bungalows which are usually lit by electricity and have other modern amenities and, by way of recreation, there is usually a district " Planters' Club " for those who are remotely situated from Kandy, Badulla, Nuwara Eliya and other large planting centres.

The Estate Superintendent occupies a very responsible position as, apart from problems connected with general administration and Tea and Rubber production, he is responsible for the health and wellbeing of his Labour force which, on a large Tea Estate, may total over 2,000. Though the conditions under which Planters work have changed greatly since the first pioneers founded the Coffee industry (an enterprise which collapsed owing to a leaf disease and which was largely replaced by Tea at the end of the 19th century), the European Superintendent still has to face a long and arduous period of training, absence from his home country, separation from his family while they are being educated and a life spent in a tropical climate. It is as well to bear these points in mind when comparing his lot with conditions elsewhere. Of the Tea in Ceylon approximately two-thirds is controlled by European interests, but this does not apply to Rubber, more than half of which is owned by Ceylonese. Tea and rubber account for over 80 per cent. of the export trade of the Island and are therefore fundamental in its economy. The prosperity of Ceylon is really determined by the prices of tea, rubber and coconut products ; but this means, mainly, the prosperity of the urban areas and the revenues available to Government. The prosperity of the villager is seriously affected by the price of coconuts and, in some places, by the demand for estate labour ; but the villager depends primarily on the rainfall.

Other agricultural products are much less important. *Chena Cultivation* is the most primitive of all forms. A section of jungle is burned

down under licence and quick-growing grains planted. If elephants, wild boar, and rats permit, a crop is gathered. The most common crop is a form of millet known as "kurakkan," which is very quick-growing, but maize, pulses, other millets and gingelly are also grown. In new chenas (where the soil has not been impoverished) two crops are grown. During the maha season kurakkan and gram (green peas) are generally sown, sometimes mixed with pumpkin, beans, melons, brinjals and chillies. During the yala season the crop may be meneri, thana and gingelly. Chena cultivation is most common in the dry zone. On the borders of the wet zone, most of the chena lands have been taken for tea and rubber. It is, however, important in many areas where the rainfall may fail and, with it, the paddy crop. It is an extremely wasteful method of cultivation, and it produces soil erosion. Government therefore gives licences sparingly, except when rain fails. The immediate solution of the shortage of imported food is an extension of chenas, but it will produce harmful long-term effects.

Arecanuts are not grown in estates, but a few trees may be found almost everywhere. These trees are the tall, slender trees which can often be seen by the roadside and which glint in the headlights. Thin shavings from the dried nuts are used with betel and lime for chewing, and there is quite a substantial export trade to India. The palmyra has already been mentioned in connection with coconuts. It is said to have eight hundred uses and therefore to have been 'transplanted from Paradise.' Its timber is solid and durable, its fibre good, and its toddy and arrack excellent. The pulp of the fruit is dried and eaten. The familiar kadjan fences of Jaffna are mostly palmyra, not coconut.

Citronella oil is distilled from the leaves of a coarse grass and is exported for use in soap and perfumes. *Cacao* is cultivated mainly in the Kandy and Matale districts and produces two crops a year. The fruits are opened on the estate and the beans extracted. These beans are fermented and washed and then exported, to be manufactured into what the European, by a strange mistake, calls "cocoa." *Cinnamon* is the spice which was formerly in great demand in Europe before cold stores and refrigerators were invented. It was so valuable that it brought the Moors, the Portuguese and the Dutch to Ceylon. Other times, other manners; and it is no longer of great importance in the economy of Ceylon. The Cinnamon Gardens in Colombo are no longer gardens and there is no cinnamon. It is grown mainly in the Galle and Negombo

districts, for the most part in small estates owned by Ceylonese. It is prepared by removing the bark from young trees or young branches of trees and scraping the bark after the outer cover has been removed. *Tobacco* is a comparatively recent development and is grown mainly in the Northern and Central Provinces. Most of the cured tobacco goes to Travancore. It is, however, not unsuited to the European taste. A by-product is the most potent weapon in Ceylon, the Jaffna cigar. *Kapok* is a minor product, but must be mentioned. The seed produces a useful oil, and the cakes obtained after extracting the oil make good food for livestock. The "down" which surrounds the seed is used for pillows and mattresses. It is excellent for lifebelts.

Ceylon produces many excellent *vegetables and fruits*, though they are not cultivated systematically and are therefore not readily marketable. They are, however, obtainable in the village fairs, very often at extremely low prices. There being no systematic cultivation, they come in a glut. Vegetables of the European variety are grown in the hills, though supplies are usually small. The European will, however, soon develop a taste for Ceylon vegetables, including such tubers as yams, sweet potatoes and manioc. Jak and breadfruit are important to the village population, and the large slice which the village housewife is carrying home from market will generally be found to be jak. Unfortunately, the jak tree is also the most important source of wood. Among the fruits, the plantain, the oriental form of the banana, is the most important and is to be found everywhere. The plantain leaf makes a good umbrella or a good table-cloth. The mango is, for many, the most luscious of all fruit. The experts differ whether the yellow mango from Jaffna is better than the green mango from the Sinhalese districts. They also differ about the correct method of eating a mango politely. Mangosteens are most tasty fruit, but have a very short season. Some oranges and grapefruit are grown. An orange is not unripe because it is green. The papaw is to be found everywhere and for the whole year round. The European may find it too sweet unless he takes it with a sprinkle of lime.

There is plenty of livestock in the Island, but it is used mainly for transport and labour purposes. The cattle is of very poor quality, due partly to the breed and partly to the absence of short, tender grasses. In fact, the European will notice the almost complete absence of grasslands.

The exception is to be found mainly around Kandy and in Uva Province. These *patana* lands, as they are called, are very often derelict coffee plantations—coffee was one of the great products of Ceylon, but it was almost entirely wiped out by disease, and tea took its place. In Uva Province there is also some *talawa* country—grasslands dotted with trees and not unlike English park-lands. However, these grasslands are rarely used for cattle, most of which are to be found in the low-country. The bullock wandering about the roads is a nuisance to transport, but the poor man's bullock is a large part of his fortune and has to be protected. There are also many buffaloes. The patient, long-suffering, stupid buffalo which pull carts should not be confused with the very dangerous animals to be found in the jungle. Tame elephants are used for heavy labour, and there are still a good many running wild in the jungle. The Ceylonese eat very little meat or eggs and have a prejudice against milk. Milk in Ceylon must always be boiled before use. Fish is good and plentiful, except occasionally during the south-west monsoon. The fishermen are to be found all along the coast and belong to a separate caste. They use outrigger canoes or rafts known as *katamarans*.

Among other natural resources, *plumbago* is the most important. It is to be found mainly in the low-country, and the mines are mainly in Ceylonese hands. It is extremely important in steel manufacture and for the manufacture of munitions. *Mica* is another important mineral because of its use in wireless telegraphy. The deposits are not extensive and are to be found mainly in the Kandy area. Ceylon also produces many gems, both precious and semi-precious—agates, amethysts, aquamarines, alexandrite, beryls, garnets, moonstones, rubies, sapphires, topaz, tourmalines, zircons, etc.

There is very little *industry* of any magnitude in Ceylon. For the most part it takes the form of village handicrafts. Some, like kadjan weaving, basket making, coir-rope making, etc. have already been mentioned. Pottery of good design is made in many villages. The Kandyan silversmiths and coppersmiths are noted for their skill and excellence of their designs. Village craftsmen also make excellent furniture, Moratuwa being specially famed for its carpenters. Brick-making (especially from kabouk—porous clay) is carried on in many villages. In the towns there are a few small factories for such industries as matches, tobacco, etc. Beer is made in Nuwara Eliya.

V. DAILY LIFE

THE survey in the preceding section gives a clue to the daily life of the real Ceylon, the Ceylon of the villages. The life of the people depends primarily on the amount of rainfall, though there are other factors, such as the height above sea level (which indicates whether there will be tea, rubber or cacao), the proximity of the sea, and the presence of plumbago. The narrow strip along the coast is dominated by fishing and coconuts. As soon as one leaves the sea, especially on the west, coconuts predominate ; but in the wet zone it vies with paddy. Here, in the wet zone, the population is large, though not dense, because it is spread among innumerable villages. Something like a million people live near the sea-coast from Negombo to Matara. It is almost impossible to lose sight of a house, and there is hardly a stretch of road that has not somebody walking or squatting on it. Only where the coconut estates are large is there anything approaching solitude, and even such solitude is but temporary, for very soon a bullock cart will amble slowly round the bend. Near each village the ugly regularity of the coconuts gives way, in the right season, to the beautiful green of growing paddy. There are flowers in the compounds of the bigger bungalows, and in most there is a plantain, a few papaws, and perhaps a jak. As one moves away from the sea, and very soon in the Kalutara district, the coconuts tend to give way to the even less attractive rubber. Here the villages are fewer, and Tamils mix with the Sinhalese on the roads. There is, however, still plenty of paddy. As the road climbs into the hills, rubber gives way to tea, and the hill-tops are green with patana. In the valleys, however, there is still paddy wherever there is a drop of water, and always there are a few coconuts. Over the hills, on the eastern side, the tea gives way to jungle which stretches almost to the sea, and goes north far beyond the hills. Here villages are few, there is paddy only where there are tanks, and chena cultivation provides food. On the eastern side this "tank" country stretches almost up to Elephant Pass, while in the west the jungle gives way to desert scrub until the Jaffna Peninsula, where the palmyra vies with the coconut, and the wells of the limestone area provide the paddy. Four-fifths of Ceylon is uncultivated and, while there are over 1,000 people to the square mile in the Colombo district, there are

less than 50 to the square mile north of the eighth parallel of latitude, except in the Jaffna Peninsula.

The life of the villager necessarily varies according to his environment. In the wet zone the family paddy field, if he has one, will be the basis of his existence. The field may belong to the father, to the family, or to several families. Owing to the system of inheritance, in which primogeniture is unknown, family lands must either be divided into small pieces, or they must be held in common. Joint ownership is frequent, and it is recorded that a particular jak tree is owned jointly by 96 people. It is easy to divide a jak-fruit, but not so easy to cultivate a paddy field in common. Sometimes, indeed, the field is cultivated in rotation, each looking after it for one year and taking what he can make out of it in that year. Joint cultivation produces frequent disputes, while cultivation in rotation impoverishes the land.

The owner of paddy lands will not rely on paddy only. He will probably grow yams and other tubers, and perhaps some currystuffs. He will have at least a few coconuts, a few plantains, and perhaps a jak or two. If he has a surplus, he will sell it in the village fair or to the itinerant agent of a Colombo wholesaler. He, or some member of his family, may also do some work on an estate. The cash income derived from these resources will be spent in the local boutique, though perhaps "spent" is hardly the word, for nearly everybody in Ceylon lives on a month's credit, and the monthly income goes to meet the debit. In bad times, when the crop fails, or the price of coconuts falls, he will have to mortgage lands. A wedding or a funeral may be another cause of debt. The boutique-keeper or a professional moneylender will often oblige, for a consideration. The Sinhalese villager is seldom very provident, and he has sometimes to go through hard times. In some areas there may be a shortage of water for several years in succession. He is much affected, too, by the price of coconuts. In one district, for instance, the price of coconuts in 1928 was Rs. 80.00 a thousand. That by no means gave him great wealth. If he had a two-acre estate, he would probably gather 3,500 coconuts, which brought him Rs. 280.00 for the year. By 1934, however, the price of coconuts in that district had fallen to Rs. 20·00, so that his income from that source had fallen to Rs. 70·00. The great depression thus hit very badly the villagers in the coconut areas, and much land passed to the boutique-keepers and moneylenders.

In fact, however, only a minority of village families have land. Ceylon is certainly an island of peasant proprietors, but there are many large estates, and the number is growing. A survey of 28 villages in the district mentioned above (Kurunegala) showed that of over 2,000 families in the villages, only 373, or about 18 per cent. owned land in 1938. There were in addition a few tenant cultivators, but most of those directly engaged in agriculture worked as employees, especially on coconut estates. Those whose primary occupation was paddy cultivation generally owned the land which they cultivated; but those whose primary occupation was coconut cultivation generally worked for others. These others are, usually, absentee landlords living in the cities, or limited companies. The capitalists (most of whom are Sinhalese) break the fall of the depression for the villager, because they have to go on employing some labour, even at a loss. In the rubber and tea areas, of course, the peasant proprietor is a rare exception, and most of the estates are owned by European companies. This has little effect on the villager, however, because most of the labour on the rubber and tea estates is Indian Tamil.

Though the villager may thus suffer heavily from a general trade depression, he is less at the mercy of international economics than the industrial worker. The Welsh coalminer is either working or unemployed: but for unemployment insurance, lack of employment would mean starvation. The Ceylon villager is not in that position because he is, generally, a pluralist. Though his main income may be derived from the coconut estate, he may be able to grow a little paddy. In times of stress, too, he will find it easier to get a licence of chena cultivation. On the other hand, there is no unemployment insurance or national health insurance, though unemployment relief works may be organized in distressed areas. A great depression, or a succession of dry years, will thus weaken his physical resistance, and malaria sweeps in behind semi-starvation.

It is wrong to assume, however, that everybody in a village is engaged in some form of agriculture. In the main a village in the wet zone is dependent of paddy and coconuts, with some assistance from fruits and vegetables and chena cultivation: but many work on the roads (though until recently most road labourers were Tamils) and there may be plumbago mines or other minor industries near by. Also, agriculture carries

with it village handicrafts, and in the village there will be kadjan weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, pottery makers, tailors, cobblers and the rest. They are of course dependent mainly on orders from the villagers or from the estates, so that their prosperity, too, depends on the rainfall and the price of coconuts. There are also the boutiques, generally in the hands of Indian or Ceylon Moors, whose prosperity similarly depends on that of the village, though they generally have capital to tide them over a few bad years and, in fact, use that capital to acquire mortgages and even land in such a period.

Finally, there will be the "upper classes" of the village. There may be a few resident proprietors of coconut estates. One of the effects of depression (and of threat of bombing) is that the absentee proprietor gives up his house in Colombo and retires to his estate. Then there will be that mighty official, the police inspector, as well as his subordinates. There may be a Government dispenser or a midwife or even a sanitary inspector. There will almost certainly be an ayurvedic physician. Ayurveda is the traditional Ceylon system of medicine. Its scientific basis is almost completely lacking in the sense that the physician often cannot explain why he prescribes a certain remedy. On the other hand, he carries on a long traditional experience of the local remedies for various ills. His great standby is herbs and oils, though he is also capable of a little elementary surgery. Most educated Ceylonese go to a western doctor for serious disease or surgical operations, but prefer an ayurvedic physician for lesser complaints. For instance, they prefer to have a fracture set by a doctor trained in western surgery, but have ayurvedic treatment immediately the fracture has begun to knit. The ordinary villager, of course, knows nothing of western methods and must inevitably consult the ayurvedic physician on the spot.

In the village, also, will be the teachers of the village schools. The women teachers will almost certainly be married, because they are rich prizes—regular Government salaries even if there are no dowries and the oriental tradition against female celibacy is strong. Thus the woman teacher may have a little cottage, an unemployed or occasionally employed husband, and several children. The other women of the village may work in the paddy fields, or take work as tea-pluckers, or even occasionally (though usually not among the Sinhalese) work on the roads : but generally the woman's place is the home, even (and even more so) while she is

unmarried. Home industries like kadjan weaving, the making of coir products, and pottery, are of course perfectly proper tasks for the women of the village. Finally, there may be a Christian priest and almost certainly a few Buddhist monks attached to the village temple. The monks (*bhikkus*) will be fed by the villagers. If there are temple lands, they will be cultivated by the villagers.

The village has very little corporate life. There was apparently a good deal at one time, and there used to be an institution which in England would be called the parish meeting : but this system fell into disuse, partly through the tendency of the larger landowners to live in the towns, leaving only a superintendent behind, and partly through the imposition of a colonial system of government. The Village Committee has however been recently resuscitated and the present policy is to develop both it and the Village Tribunal, in which justice is dispensed quickly and cheaply. In the Christian village, the church plays something of the part which the church or the chapel plays in an English village, but such villages are, of course, rare. In a few Buddhist villages, the monks play the part of the parson ; but this is not their real function, and it is rather praise than criticism of a bhikku to say that he spends his time in solitary contemplation. He has to attain Nirvana by suppressing all desire, and it is no part of this task to move among the villagers giving calves'-foot jelly to the sick and advice to the wayward. The larger villages have village halls in which public meetings are sometimes held, but the " trouser-karens " are apt to be inside and the villagers crowding round the doors and windows. The school is similarly available for meetings, but very largely with similar results. Also, some of the high officials who visit the villages may not know Sinhalese well enough to be able to speak fluently the language of the people, and a translated speech is neither so good nor so effective as a direct speech. In fact, one meets in the village as in the towns that fundamental division between the English-educated and the rest which is explained in the next section.

The great recreation of the village is gossip. Wherever two or more Ceylonese are gathered together there is talk. Little groups are always to be seen on the roads, standing or squatting, talking perhaps of the chances of rain or the price of coconuts or the scandalous behaviour of William Singho's daughter or the extortions of the boutique-keeper. The great centre for gossip is, however, the village fair, probably held once a week. To it goes everybody who is not actually working, and the process of buying and selling is much shorter than the gossip that precedes and follows. Between fairs the centre of attraction is the boutique,

particularly the tea-boutique. Here there may even be a wireless set, There will almost certainly be a copy of a Sinhalese or Tamil newspaper, or at least somebody who has seen a newspaper. The proportion of men who can read is, for a peasant country, astonishingly high, generally somewhere in the region of 75 per cent. Among women of the older generation the proportion is low, perhaps 20 per cent. But the girls are in large proportion being educated, and a village is backward if fifty per cent. of the girls between the ages of 12 and 18 cannot read. Nevertheless, the cost of a newspaper is high, and there may not be more than two copies in a village. Besides, many of those who can read find it difficult, and they much prefer to listen. Particularly favoured is the man who can chant verses, traditional or invented, about the village and its people. A great deal of traditional learning is handed down in this way, and much of the news comes from chanted poems, not always in the best of taste.

This characteristic is extremely important in the maintenance of morale, for news that is passed by word of mouth loses nothing in the telling, and the man who has the news naturally calls attention to himself by dramatizing it. Much of the difficulty over the Colombo air raids arose because the stories that circulated in the villages were marvellous in their picturesque (and wholly inaccurate) details. Though this did not directly affect the morale of the towns, it had very important indirect effects. Ceylonese family ties are very strong, and the importance of grandmother in the scheme of things can hardly be exaggerated. If grandmother in the village heard that Colombo was in flames, she naturally became anxious for the safety of her grandchildren. Hence arose the plague of telegrams announcing the serious illness of aunts, uncles, cousins, wives, and children, and requiring the immediate departure of the men at work in Colombo. The telegrams were often genuine, though the illness was not, and even the most westernised Ceylonese finds it difficult to resist an imperious summons from his mother or grandmother. This was, of course, an exceptional case; but it has to be remembered that any incident may become grossly exaggerated as it travels round the village. Any slight excess by any of the troops may become a riot or a revolution in the course of its telling. If a bullock is killed on the road, the neighbouring villages may hear that the troops are killing all bulls. If a ripe papaw is stolen, the villages may learn that the troops are taking all the fruit. If a village maiden is kissed, the story may be that the troops have started to rape. The simplest way to stop these stories is, of course, to impose on the troops an iron discipline;

but it will help if contact is made with the few English-speaking people of the village, so that instant denial can be issued of any wild rumour, and instant action taken to remedy any complaint. A villager will freely give a papaw or a handful of plantains, but there will be thousands of wild rumours if a plantain is taken.

It is true that the villages are becoming more sophisticated. Until the coming of the motor-bus, few villagers had travelled more than a few miles away from home. Even now there are villages of that kind. Bus-fares are cheap, however, and a high proportion of the inhabitants can speak of Colombo or Galle or Negombo or Chilaw. Even so, the practice of gossiping remains and the circulation of rumours is one of the Island's major industries. Also, many of the prejudices remain. Buddhists object to killing and even the swatting of cockroaches should not be undertaken in their presence. The villager objects also to complete nakedness. Even though the worker in the paddy field may have the bare minimum of covering, he has that bare minimum, and he never bathes completely naked. He may, in fact, run away from nakedness. Accordingly, troops bathing should always wear slips.

Also, the villager is intensely superstitious. Apart from the fact that there are devils everywhere, it is important that there are auspicious days and auspicious times. Accordingly, the fact that a villager insists on making his complaint in the middle of lunch may be due, and probably will be due, not to stupidity but to the fact that, on this particular day, lunch-time is asupicious for presenting petitions. If on a certain day he decides to do no work, the explanation may be not that he is lazy but that the day is inauspicious for labour, and he would rather do without his rupee than run his head into unknown dangers. On the other hand, the explanation may be that the day is auspicious for weddings, and weddings and similar occasions are great events in his life and even more so in the lives of his wife and daughters. Besides, the Sinhalese villager is a gentleman. Other people, like Indian Tamil labourers, may be expected to work regularly, but there is no particular reason why he should work if he does not want to do so.

In short, the villager is an open-hearted, cheerful, generous person who will do everything he can to help anybody. He is capable of sudden passion but not capable of prolonged animosity. He is by no means a child. His store of wordly wisdom is immense, though his lines of thought will rarely be clear to a European without much experience of the country. He must be handled very gently, however, and due attention must be paid to his prejudices.

The immigrant Tamil labourer is very different from the Sinhalese villager and possesses, to a marked extent, the characteristics of his type. Separated from his home by a considerable distance, he has no distracting interests near at hand and is, therefore, very closely identified with the Tea or Rubber plantation on which he usually works. He is consequently regular in his attendance and can be relied upon to work during the busy season when crop must be harvested ; unlike the villager, he has but few distractions in the form of celebrations and is generally more amenable to the organisation necessary on estates. His home conditions too, are more arduous and exacting than those of the Sinhalese estate worker and, as a result, he is prepared to face climatic conditions which the latter finds unpleasant. Furthermore, the majority of Tamil labourers come to Ceylon with the definite intention of earning wages over a considerable period and then retiring to their homes in South India and, though to all intents and purposes, many eventually settle on the estates which employ them, they have acquired the habit of regular work and an outlook which makes them more prepared to accept the relative drudgery of estate routine than their more independent and imaginative Sinhalese colleagues.

By contrast with the Sinhalese estate labourer who is usually a small peasant living on his own land and in his own house, the Tamil immigrant is supplied by his employer with free housing, free medical attendance, free primary education and other amenities and Government keeps a watchful eye on the Tea and Rubber industries in order to see that all the obligations imposed by law in this respect are duly carried out. South Indian Tamils form an appreciable proportion of Ceylon's population and there are over 600,000 workers and their dependants on estates.

The towns are in a different world. Colombo and Galle are alien cities. They have developed under the Moors, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British. They have attracted to themselves a large part of the " English-educated ;" but nobody else really belongs to Colombo. He belongs to some village, or to India. He goes back to the village, or to India, at the threat of danger. The attraction of the towns is not really the " bright lights " that cause the depopulation of the rural areas in Europe and America. It is simply the prospect of work. On the whole, the villager is more comfortable in the village than he would be in the town ; but it is in Colombo that the labour is needed. To what great extent Colombo is alien was shown after Easter Sunday 1942. The Fort remained open because it was European, though the labour disappeared. The Pettah and the boutiques elsewhere were closed

because they were occupied mostly by Indians. The Sinhalese and the Jaffna Tamils followed suit by escaping to the villages. Very soon, however, the Ceylonese came back.

Colombo is a seaport and a centre of government. The tea, the rubber, the coconut products and the plumbago pass out through Colombo Harbour. Much of the rice and most of the manufactured goods and other products pass in through that Harbour. The foreign trade turnover of Ceylon amounts in normal times to some six hundred million rupees a year. Rice alone represents 23 per cent. of the imports and tea alone represents 65 per cent. of the exports. Colombo grew as a result of its foreign trade and became the centre of government because of that trade. It is not too much to say that everybody in Colombo is employed directly or indirectly for the purpose of government or for the purpose of trade. Colombo has, so to speak, no other justification. Galle similarly is a seaport, though not a thriving one. Trincomalee is hardly anything more than a naval base. Jaffna, on the other hand, is in a very large measure the abode of pensioners, not only from service in Ceylon but also from service in Malaya. Its increasing depression has been due very largely to the stopping of emigration to Malaya.

All this is due primarily to the fact that Ceylon has no major industries. It is a primary producing country. Large collections of people are therefore unnecessary except for foreign trade and government, and government depends for its finance almost entirely on the exporting industries. This explains also the attachment of the people to their villages. The village is home to the Ceylonese as India is to the Indian merchant and Great Britain to the European. Except in Jaffna, one has the feeling that the towns have no right to be there. Kandy is peculiar because it is a shopping and social centre for the estates, but the presence of the Temple of the Tooth makes it a religious centre also. Nuwara Eliya is a European health resort, a piece of home from home.

These facts also explain why Colombo has such a cosmopolitan population. It contains more than one-third of all the Europeans, about half the Burghers and Eurasians, about one-seventh of the Moors, one-half of the Malays, and two-thirds of the non-classified people of Ceylon : but it has little more than one-thirtieth of the Sinhalese and less than one-twentieth of the Tamils. Moreover, a high percentage of the Sinhalese and Tamils of Colombo have become westernised. It is said that Paris is not France : it is certainly true that Colombo is not Ceylon.

VI. EDUCATION

COMPARED with most oriental countries, Ceylon has an educated people. The law provides for compulsory education up to the age of fourteen years. It is not strictly enforced because in many areas (including Colombo) there is a shortage of schools. Also, many children, especially in the villages, leave school soon after the age of eleven. Nevertheless, the proportion of young men and even young women unable to read and write one of the three languages of the Island is small. Few read much, but they can read. It is therefore possible to use the main method of passing information and instructions, through newspapers and leaflets, even in the villages. Very few actually buy newspapers—the circulation of the Sinhalese daily *Dinamina* is about 24,000 and that of the Sinhalese weekly *Silumina* about 30,000—but this is because they are too costly. They are read in the boutiques by all-comers, and those who read pass on the information to those who do not. Pamphlets and leaflets, circulated free, have a much wider potential circulation. The normal methods of publicity must, however, be supplemented by the spoken word, through loud-speaker vans (of which the Information Department has two) and, above all, through orators at the village fairs.

Education provides, however, a division even more important than community, caste or creed. It is a division between the English-speaking on the one hand and the Sinhalese and Tamil-speaking on the other hand. It is, moreover, a class distinction of profound social importance. To explain this, it is necessary to point out that English is the language of Government and therefore of administration throughout the Island. All Government servants in the administrative, executive and clerical grades, and even many of the peons, must be able to speak that language. Commerce similarly, except in so far as it is in Indian hands, must be carried on in English. It follows that all the positions of any importance in the Island are held by English-speaking people. On them are dependent a host of others, who must know a little English at least. Accordingly, anybody who wants to get above what elsewhere would be called the "coolie class" must obtain an "English" education.

The most attractive posts are in the higher ranks of the public service. They were formerly held by Europeans, though most of them are now held by Ceylonese. When it was decided to substitute a Ceylonese for a European, it was considered derogatory to reduce the salary, though in fact the salaries of Europeans were based on the assumption that they had to be induced to expatriate themselves, that they had to retire early because of the climate, and that they had higher expenses to meet. The result of this decision is that there are Ceylonese officers on sterling salaries of £1,750 a year, an immense amount when contrasted with the low wages of the working classes. Nor do the advantages of these posts end with the salary. There are allowances and privileges and, above all, substantial pensions. There is, too, a social status attached, so that a public servant can expect to obtain a very high dowry when he marries.

A person in this class belongs almost to a race apart. He lives like a European, wears trousers (a badge of superiority) and speaks English (except to servants). He has a large bungalow, at least one car, and a large number of servants. The difference between Cinnamon Gardens and the Colombo slums is greater than the difference between Mayfair and Shoreditch. There is thus a definite governing class. Moreover, the ordinary Sinhalese or Tamil finds entry to it very difficult. His parent or his family must be able to raise the money to send him to an "English" school and keep him there. To get to the top of the tree he must, now-a-days, either go to England or join the University of Ceylon. There are few scholarships, and the "educational ladder," which has become increasingly wide in England since 1918, hardly exists except as a very greasy pole. In spite of this, the number of aspirants is naturally very great—the prizes are so valuable. The process has not gone so far as in India, where there is a large number of "educated unemployed" who tend to be a menace to public order. Nevertheless, it is a factor to be borne in mind. It is particularly difficult because to a "trouser-karen" manual labour is degrading. The candidates for any clerical post are many; the number of posts few.

The nationalist movement, and indeed political interest generally are to be found mainly among the governing class. Trade unions of a political bent have had some success among the estate and urban workers

(most of whom are Indian Tamils), but chiefly because of such successes as they have had in raising wages, preventing dismissals, and improving conditions, and not because of their politics. Speaking generally, the urban and rural workers are politically apathetic. Provided they have enough to eat and plenty of time to spare, they do not care who governs whom or who wins any wars.

These are the great mass of the people. It is, however, impossible for a European to get at their minds. While a labour force under European control is usually better than a labour force under Ceylonese control, the way to the villager must be through the village leaders—the headman, the schoolmaster, the Buddhist monk if he is devout, the Catholic priest if there is one. These are not all English-educated but the way to them is through the English-educated. Also, Colombo, Kandy and Jaffna play a very large part in the economy of Ceylon, and in these three towns the English-educated are dominant. What is even more important is that the whole Government service is English-educated. The number of European officials is small, and even where Europeans and not Ceylonese are at the head of Departments, their chief assistants are nearly all Ceylonese. If civil administration is to function in collaboration with the defence forces, it is essential that good relations be established between the naval, military and air force officers on the one hand, and the Ceylonese officials on the other hand. Finally, it has to be remembered that, under the Constitution of Ceylon, the Board of Ministers is responsible for finance to the State Council, with the consequence that all expenditure which does not come out of Imperial funds must, normally, be obtained with the consent of the Ceylonese Ministers and the State Council.

A large part of the English-educated Ceylonese are better qualified academically than many of the officers in the Imperial forces. They have followed a school course copied almost slavishly from that of the English public schools. In due course they have passed London Matriculation or obtained the Cambridge Senior Certificate with exemption from London Matriculation. They have then proceeded, in some cases, to British Universities, where many of them have obtained high degrees. Others will have proceeded to Ceylon University College, where they have studied for London degrees. The College obtained about six first classes and some twenty or thirty second classes every

year. Though smaller than most English University Colleges, its record in recent years bore comparison with any of them. The best students of each year proceed to England for further study, where they invariably do well especially at Cambridge, which is the most popular of the English Universities. Other students passed from the University College to the Ceylon Medical College, where they followed a course prescribed by the General Medical Council, and when they have the licentiate they are recognised for practice by the General Medical Council. The two Colleges were combined in the University of Ceylon in 1942.

A British officer talking to an educated Ceylonese may, therefore, be talking to a man better educated than himself. It is not suggested that the schools and Colleges of Ceylon are as good as the schools and Colleges of England. There is in Ceylon an emphasis upon cramming for examinations greater than one finds in Great Britain. The curricula of the schools are less diversified than in Great Britain. The atmosphere of a public school is not completely copied even in the great schools like Royal College, St. Thomas' College, Trinity College (Kandy), and Jaffna, College. The public school spirit has not been completely developed. Similarly, the atmosphere at the University is not quite that at the Universities of Great Britain. The Ceylon student is more self-centred, and he has less of the team spirit. The tradition of loyalty, in other words, is not so fully developed. Also, the oriental tradition that manual labour is degrading makes his education narrower. Only recently has there been any substantial development of physical training or training in manual subjects. Nevertheless, the standard of the games is high, especially in cricket, tennis and athletics. The Ceylon Cadet Battalion bears comparison with the Junior O.T.Cs. The general result is that the proportion of young men with "guts," whose loyalty can absolutely be depended upon, and who can be relied upon in a tight corner to keep their heads, is rather lower. At the same time, it would be quite wrong to assume that they did not exist. They do, and there are many of them. Educated Ceylonese produce good administrators, good doctors, good lawyers, good teachers, good officers and good men generally.

Accordingly, the only assumption that the European can make is that until the contrary is proved the Ceylonese to whom he is speaking is at least as good as himself. To assume that a man is of inferior mettle

because his skin is coloured is even more ridiculous in Ceylon than it is elsewhere. In so far as the Ceylonese are lacking in ability to act quickly and decisively, (and there are many who do not lack that ability), the explanation is very largely that they have never had the opportunity to develop the ability. Only recently have they been able to obtain positions of responsibility. Few of them have been through the fire of experience. Pax Britannica has been maintained since 1818, and Colombo had no experience of enemy action from the surrender of the Dutch in 1796 to the falling of the bombs on Easter Sunday, 1942. The Tamil and the Low-Country Sinhalese have been governed by Europeans for over three hundred years, and the Kandyans for over a century. This is by no means a complete explanation, but it suffices to explain he higher executive ability of the average European.

It is not possible, however, to treat educated Ceylonese quite as one would treat educated Europeans. They are quick to suspect a slight because they have often been treated as inferiors. Their notion of prestige is correspondingly high. The ruthlessness of the European in a tight corner is often construed as an assumption of superiority on his part, though he may in fact be behaving precisely as he would have behaved in London. More tact is necessary, more delicate flattery, more suggestions and fewer orders. In other words, they require much more careful handling than similar people in Great Britain would require. They may not jump to it quickly, partly because they suspect that they are being ordered about like servants, and partly because they are normally less self-disciplined.

VII. THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

THE government of Ceylon under the "Donoughmore" Constitution of 1931 has been described as "seven-tenths self-government." The explanation of this term is that the powers of administration are divided into two branches, the one exercised under the control of three Officers of State who are not responsible to the State Council, and the other exercised under the control of seven Executive Committees responsible to the State Council. The three Officers of State are:—

The Chief Secretary, who has under his control External Affairs, Defence and the Public Services;

The Legal Secretary, who is responsible for the administration of justice, the drafting of legislation, legal advice to Government, proceedings on behalf of the Crown, State Council elections, and the Public Trustee: and

The Financial Secretary, who is responsible for finance, stores and printing, establishments, customs, etc.

These three Officers of State are paid and pensionable officers appointed by the Governor with the approval of the Secretary of State. In Great Britain they would be described as "civil servants," though that term is given a much narrower meaning in Ceylon. The essential point is that they are not under the Control of the State Council, are not politicians, and cannot be ejected from office by the State Council.

The State Council consists, in the first place, of 50 elected members. The franchise is very wide, and for practical purposes the vote is given to every British subject of 21 years or more who is domiciled in Ceylon. The result is that, subject to rare exceptions, the Sinhalese areas return Sinhalese members, and the Tamil areas return Tamil members. There is no real party organisation. Many of the Sinhalese members belong to the Ceylon National Congress. It was prominent in the demand for self-government in the years preceding 1931, but it cannot be said to be a party organisation in the British sense. It claims to be national and not communal, but there are few Tamils among its members. The

Sinhala Maha Sabha, whose most prominent members are the Hon. S.W. R. Dias Bandaranaike, Minister for Local Administration, and the Hon. C. W. W. Kannangara, Minister for Education, is more obviously communal and more narrowly national. It has not reached such a stage of organisation that it could have a considerable electoral influence. The Labour Party had one representative in Mr. A. E. Goonesinha, but he is no longer a member of the Council. Two members were members of the Sama Samajist party, which may be described as Communist. They were detained under Defence Regulations, but have recently escaped. These bodies are not true political parties with large electoral organisations. They are essentially groups of the French type, consisting of a few leaders and a rather larger number of followers.

In addition to these 50 elected members, there are eight members nominated to represent interests not properly represented in the State Council under the system of election. Of them, four are Europeans (Mr. H. R. Freeman is a European elected for Anuradhapura); Mr. G. A. Wille represents the Burghers; Mr. A. R. A. Razik represents the Ceylon Moors, and Mr. T. B. Jayah the Malays; and Diwan Bahadur I. X. Pereira represents Indian interests (Mr. K. R. Natesa Iyer was elected for Hatton by the Indian Tamil vote). Finally, there are the three Officers of State, who are members of the State Council without a vote.

At its first meeting, the State Council resolves itself into seven Executive Committees. Each of these elects a Chairman, who is appointed by the Governor as Minister. As such he is a member of the Board of Ministers; but the Executive Committee and not the Minister is in control of administration. That is, the head of a Department puts matters of principle before the Minister to be laid before the Executive Committee. The officer attends the meeting of the Committee and the Committee decides the point. Theoretically, the Committee then reports to the State Council in executive session, the decision of the State Council is approved by the Governor, and binds the Department. In fact, however, this has very rarely been done in recent years. In all other cases, the officer regards the decision of the Executive Committee as binding upon him. The influence of the Minister in the decision will depend upon the relations between him and his colleagues

on the Committee. Sometimes the decision of the Minister is in fact the decision of the Committee; sometimes the Minister's influence is only that of a Chairman.

The main work of the seven Committees is as follows:

Home Affairs—Police, prisons, excise, and functions not specifically allocated.

Agriculture and Lands—Agriculture, lands, forests, etc.

Local Administration—Local government, fisheries, acquisition of land, mines and salt.

Health—Medical and sanitary services.

Labour, Industry and Commerce—Labour, industry, commerce, unemployment, etc. (includes food control).

Education—Education, museums, archaeology.

Communications and Works—Public works (including building and roads), railways, electrical undertakings, post and telegraphs, port and harbours.

The three Officers of State and the seven Ministers sit as the Board of Ministers, with the Chief Secretary as chairman and a vice-chairman elected by the Board from among the Ministers. Sir. D. B. Jayatilaka has recently been succeded in this post by Mr. D. S. Senanayake. He is by law the representative of the Board in the State Council, and is styled Leader of the State Council. The essential functions of the Board of Ministers are financial, and for this they are collectively responsible to the State Council. Since nearly every proposal for Government action requires expenditure, the Board really acts as a sort of Cabinet. Nevertheless, they are not necessarily agreed on the principles of policy. They are not chosen like the British Cabinet because they have common political principles. On the contrary, their membership depends upon the accident of elections by Executive Committees. Actually, the membership of the Executive Committees in 1934 was arranged in such a way that there would be a Sinhalese majority on each Committee, and every Minister was therefore Sinhalese. Thus was obtained the so-called "homogeneous Board." In fact, however it was not homogenous. On the Indian question, for instance, Messrs. Bandaranaike and Kannangara disagreed with the rest of the Board. It was not necessary for them

to resign in consequence. So long as the Chairman of an Executive Committee remains Chairman, he remains Minister. The State Council may pass a resolution praying for the termination of his appointment as Minister, and if the Governor assents he then ceases to be Chairman of his Executive Committee, though he may be re-elected by the Committee and so become Minister again.

The Board of Ministers has financial responsibility not only in respect of matters under the Executive Committees, but also in respect of matters under the general control of Officers of State. For instance, Defence is a function of the Chief Secretary ; but the funds necessary for Defence (other than those provided from Imperial sources) must be provided by the State Council at the request of the Board of Ministers. It follows that the Ministers must have a large say in defence policy, especially because the Officers of State have no right to vote in the Board of Ministers. During the present war, the State Council has refused no request for defence funds put before them by the Board of Ministers and (it is believed) the Board of Ministers has refused no request for funds put before them by Government.

The Governor has certain overriding powers. He can enact legislation where it is of paramount importance to the public interest, and in a state of emergency he may assume control of any Government Department. He can also reserve Bills for the royal assent. There is, too, one power which has been reserved to the Governor, the ppointment of officers. Actually, the appointment of junior officers has been delegated to Heads of Departments ; but senior officials are appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Public Services Commission, which consists normally of the three Officers of State. The Executive Committees are consulted about appointments to Departments under their control, but the Public Services Commission are not bound to agree with an Executive Committee.

The naval, military and air force authorities will be concerned with all aspects of the Government of Ceylon. The main contact with the civil administration will be, however, through the Chief Secretary, within whose province is the subject of Defence. One very large part of his functions, perhaps today the most important part of civil administration, is exercised through the Commissioner of Civil Defence. Nevertheless, there are aspects of civil administration of great importance

outside the jurisdiction of the Officers of State ; for instance communications are under the control of the Executive Committee of Communil cations and Works, and it must be realised that the chief officials concerned, the Director of Public Works, the General Manager of the Ceylon Government Railways, and the Postmaster-General may have to consult the Executive Committee through the Minister. Similarly, the Inspector-General of Police may have to consult the Executive Committee of Home Affairs through the Minister for Home Affairs. Also, finance is generally involved, and the Board of Ministers may have to be brought in. Accordingly, it is fundamentally important that the collaboration of the Ceylonese Ministers, the members of the State Council, and the Heads of Departments (many of whom are Ceylonese), should be obtained. That collaboration can be secured very easily if the process is one of consultation. They are eager to help, provided that they are told how and why.

One of the characteristics of Ceylon is the very strong centralisation. Functions like those relating to civil defence, police, hospitals, roads, and so on, which in England are vested in local authorities in Ceylon are vested in the central Government. The local representative of the Central Government in the Provinces is the Government Agent and in the districts the Assistant Government Agent. It should be the golden rule for the Commander of any unit or detachment stationed or operating in any Province or district to get into touch immediately with the Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent as the case may be and to take him fully into his confidence as to his general plans and intentions particularly if he is about to conduct field operations or manoeuvres in his area. Failure to keep in the closest touch with the principal local civil authority will only result in misunderstandings and difficulties which the establishment of good relations will prevent arising. Fairly wide powers are also vested in the municipalities of Colombo, Galle and Kandy, and narrower functions in the hands of urban councils like those in Jaffna, Trincomalee and Batticaloa. Elsewhere, the village committees are useful people with whom to make contact. Local information may be obtained from them, from the police, and from local officials of the Public Works Department. The last are particularly useful, since they know the road system of their districts very throughly.

VIII. SOME GENERAL ADVICE

1. From the angle of the European, Ceylon is inhabited by two peoples, the English-educated and the rest. With the former contact is easily made through the common language and, in large measure, a common educational background. With rare exceptions, they are anxious to help. It must be remembered, however, that they are more concerned with the defence of Ceylon than with the defence of the British Empire. Also, they are suspicious of "superior" people, and must be treated with much more tact than, say the inhabitants of Yorkshire or Wiltshire. They take offence much more readily, though they do not show it so quickly. Whereas the European is apt to prove obstructive if he is not treated with due consideration, the educated Ceylonese is apt to go away and criticise, so creating a general spirit of non-co-operation.

2. There is fortunately no real antagonism between the Ceylonese and the Europeans. The European is, however, a foreigner because he has made himself so. He generally intends to return "home," so that neither he nor his Ceylonese friends believe that he really belongs to the Island. The Ceylonese for their part have been under European rule for periods varying from one hundred and three hundred years. They claim that this "foreign domination" has prevented them from developing a true national spirit of the kind which would be extremely useful in the defence of Ceylon at the present time. What is to be feared, therefore, is not antagonism but a general failure to collaborate. To obtain their collaboration it is necessary to treat them as collaborators and to show them positively the way in which they can collaborate. They are not inclined to "jump to it" like the population of Great Britain, partly because the whole idea of modern warfare is outside their experience, partly because they have been accustomed to mere passive reception of Government orders, and partly because they have never been able to develop a tradition of public service. It follows that they must be handled much more gently than the civil population would be handled in Great Britain itself in time of danger.

3. The Sinhalese and the Tamils are different peoples with different languages and different customs. It is wise to distinguish them if

distinction is at all possible. It may be remembered that Scot does not like to be called English.

4. Nobody in the Island is a "native" in spite of the fact that it is a convenient term to distinguish the Ceylonese from the non-Ceylonese and could be used for instance, of a Lancashire man in Lancashire. In Ceylon it reeks of the colour-bar. The people of Ceylon are Ceylonese. Also, there are no "coolies."

5. The people of the Island are accustomed to use the road for walking, talking and squatting. In some parts of the country, in fact the insects make it difficult to sit any where else. Careful driving is essential.

6. Cattle are tied to the roadsides because elsewhere there is very little grass. They ought to be properly secured or guarded. Very often, however, they roam; and when they roam their movements are quite unaccountable. This is an old problem and there is no solution but to stop dead. The cattle may be a large part of the worldly wealth of a village.

7. Ceylon may be very short of food if at any time shipping space is not forthcoming. Please be very careful of growing crops. Besides, a little paddy field may be a villager's whole livelihood.

8. All the religions of the Island must be treated with respect. Buddhist and Hindu temples will be the main objects of interest in many parts of the country. The Hindus, particularly in the North and East, may sometimes prefer not to have other people enter. The Buddhists never object. In any case, the customs of the temples should be observed, and in particular boots must be removed before entry into buildings. Sitting on statues of the Buddha or on the sides of dagobas (the dome-like structures in Buddhist temples) should be sternly forbidden. Bo-trees are sacred to the Buddhists. Buddhist monks (in yellow or orange robes) should be treated with great respect. Usually, they do not speak English, though there are exceptions.

9. Rumours are created very easily. Morale is apt to deteriorate quickly when things go badly. The help of English—speaking residents can be obtained for the asking.

10. Women lead more sheltered lived than in Great Britain and are rarely accustomed to light badinage.

11. Words can be more insulting in Ceylon than the same words would be in England. Tact and courtesy are the first and the last order, of the day.

IX. GLOSSARY

Adigar : Kandyan chief or official.
Arrack : Spirits made by distillation from toddy.
Ayurvedic medicine : Traditional medical learning.
Bhikku : Buddhist monk.
Boutique : Small shop.
Brinjal : Vegetable.
Bund : Embankment, usually of tank or to prevent flooding.
Cacao : Raw cocoa.
Cadjan or kadjan : Woven coconut or palmyra leaves.
Catamaran or katamaran : Raft made of logs, used for fishing.
Chena cultivation : Cultivation by burning jungle.
Coir : Coconut fibre.
Copra : Dried coconut kernels.
Dagoba : Dome-like structure in a Buddhist temple.
Ganga : River.
Gram : Peas.
Graphite : Plumbago.
Jaggery : Sugar made from palm or palmyra.
Jak : Large green fruit growing from trunks of trees.
Kabouk : Porous clay used for building.
Kadjan or cadjan : Woven coconut or palmyra leaves.
Kangany : Labour contractor.
Kapok : "Silk cotton" tree.
Katamaran or catamaran : Raft of logs used for fishing.
King Coconut : Yellow coconut with very small kernel, and so excellent for coconut water.
Korale : District.
Kurakkan : Kind of millet commonly used in chena cultivation.
Lines : Labourers' lodgings.
Lanka : The Island or Ceylon.
Latex : Raw rubber.
Maha : Great, or the season corresponding with the north-east monsoon.
Mahawamsa : The Great Chronicle, the great history of Ceylon.

Mango : Fruit.
Mangosteen : Fruit.
Manioc : Edible tuber.
Monsoon : Steady wind.
Mudaliyar : Sinhalese title conferred by Governor.
Muhandiram : Sinhalese title conferred by Governor.
Nirvana : State of bliss attained by devout Buddhists.
Ola leaf : Manuscript made from coconut palm.
Oya : Stream.
Paddy : Unhusked rice.
Pali : Classical language of the Buddhists.
Papaw : Fruit.
Patana : Close grasslands like the Downs.
Plantain : Banana.
Plumbago : Graphite.
Poonac : Oil cake for feeding cattle.
Sweet toddy : Unfermented toddy.
Tank : Reservoir.
Toddy : Juice from coconut or palmyra bud, popular liquor.
Trouser-karen : English-educated Ceylonese.
Yala : Season corresponding with South-West Monsoon.
Yam : Tuber vegetable.

A NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION

Both Sinhalese and Tamil are transliterated into phonetic English, so that they are pronounced as spelt. In Sinhalese names the short 'a' and the 'e' are, however, interchangeable, so that both forms are used: . . . Panadura or Panadure. In either case it is the French unaccented 'e' or the English article as in "a book". "W" and "V" are sometimes interchangeable. The large towns have anglicised names—Colombo, Galle (pronounced Gaul), Kandy and Jaffna. Some Sinhalese names have been anglicised. Nuwara Eliya is pronounced "New Raylia," Bentota as "Bentot," Kalutara as "Kaltewra." Otherwise "i" is either 'ee' or "i" as in 'bit'; 'u' is "oo." 'G' is always hard and is generally pronounced even when with 'n': e.g. "ganga" is pronounced "gang-ga." "Dh" is something like "j"—Anuradhapura is Anoorajapoora. 'Th' is not pronounced as in 'pith' but is even harder than the 'th' in 'the.' Double consonants are always sounded as such (as in German). Thus, Wanni is Wan-ni and Hanwella is Hanwel-la. There is practically no accent, but what accent there is, is on the first syllable. There must be no slurring of syllables as there is in English; every one is pronounced even in the longest names—Anuradhapura, Avissawella, Bandarawela, Diyatalawa, etc. This is true also of Tamil names, where the speaker must take a deep breath and push on bravely to the end of the word.

Claude Perera
Kandy

MAPS

OF THE

ISLAND OF CEYLON

SHOWING

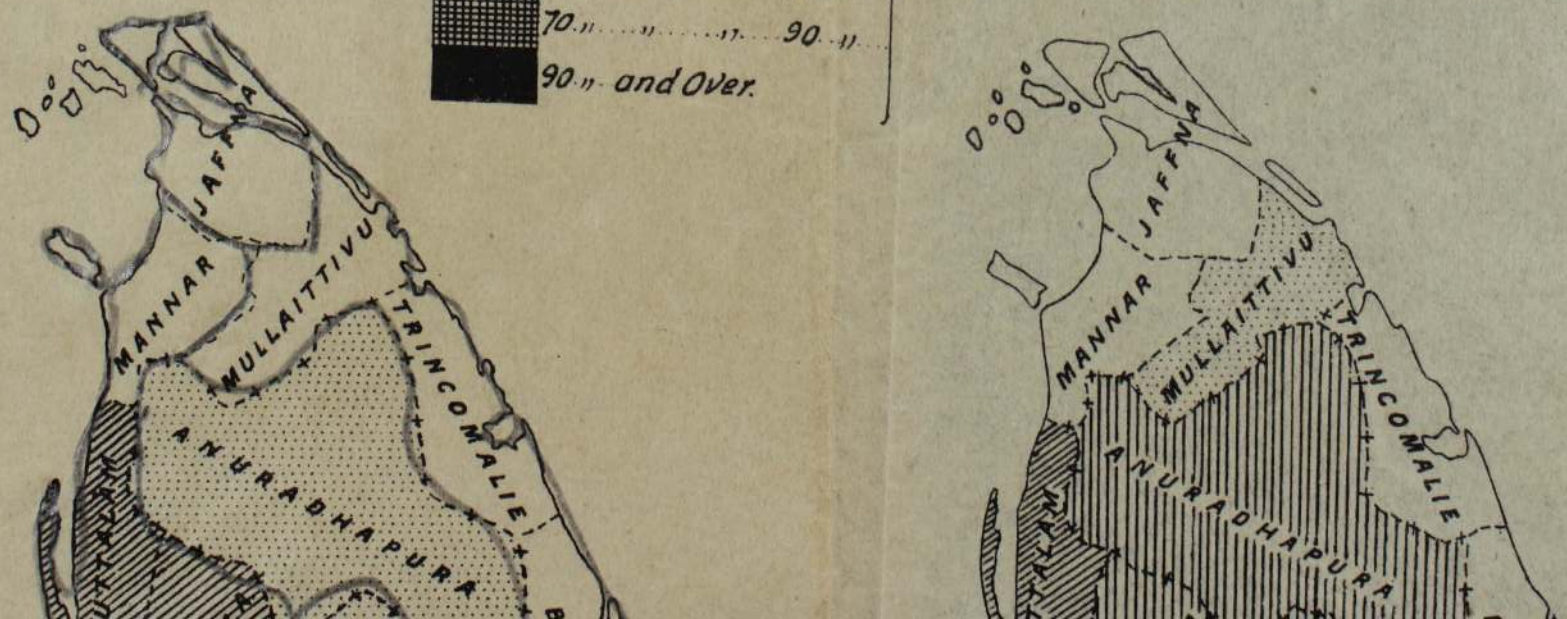
THE DISTRIBUTION OF CERTAIN RACES

Scale of 64 Miles to an Inch

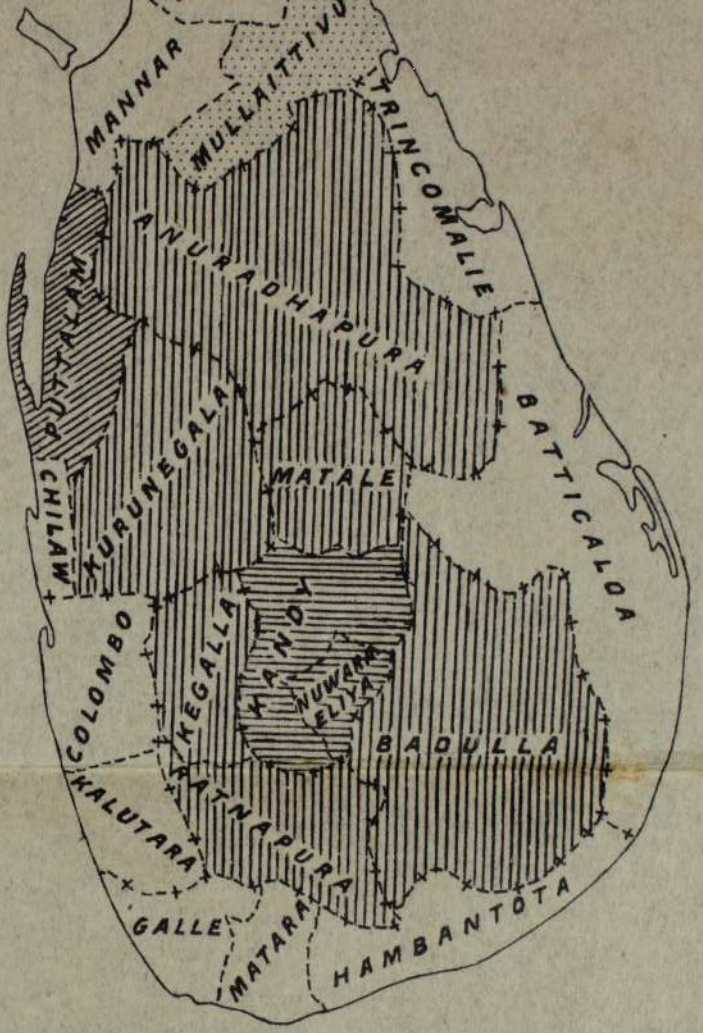
REFERENCE

under 5 p.c
5 p.c. and under 10 "
10 " " 25 "
25 " " 50 "
50 " " 70 "
70 " " 90 "
90 " and Over.

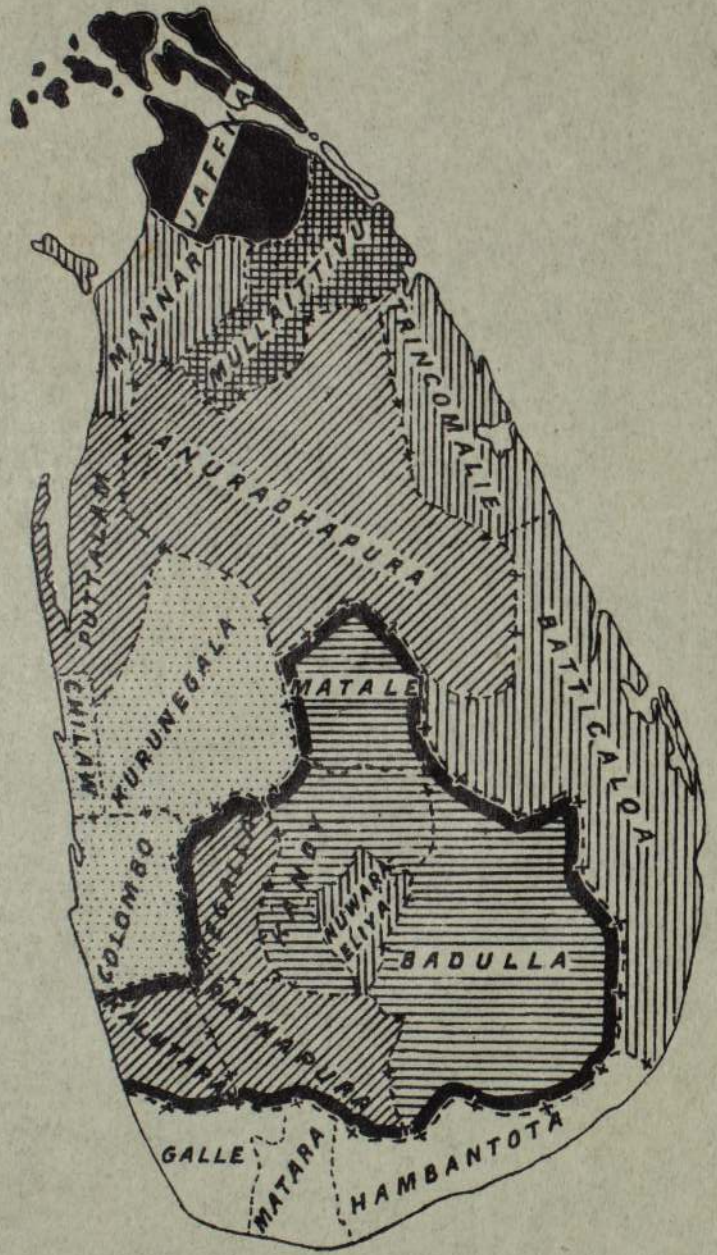
of the Total Population of the District.



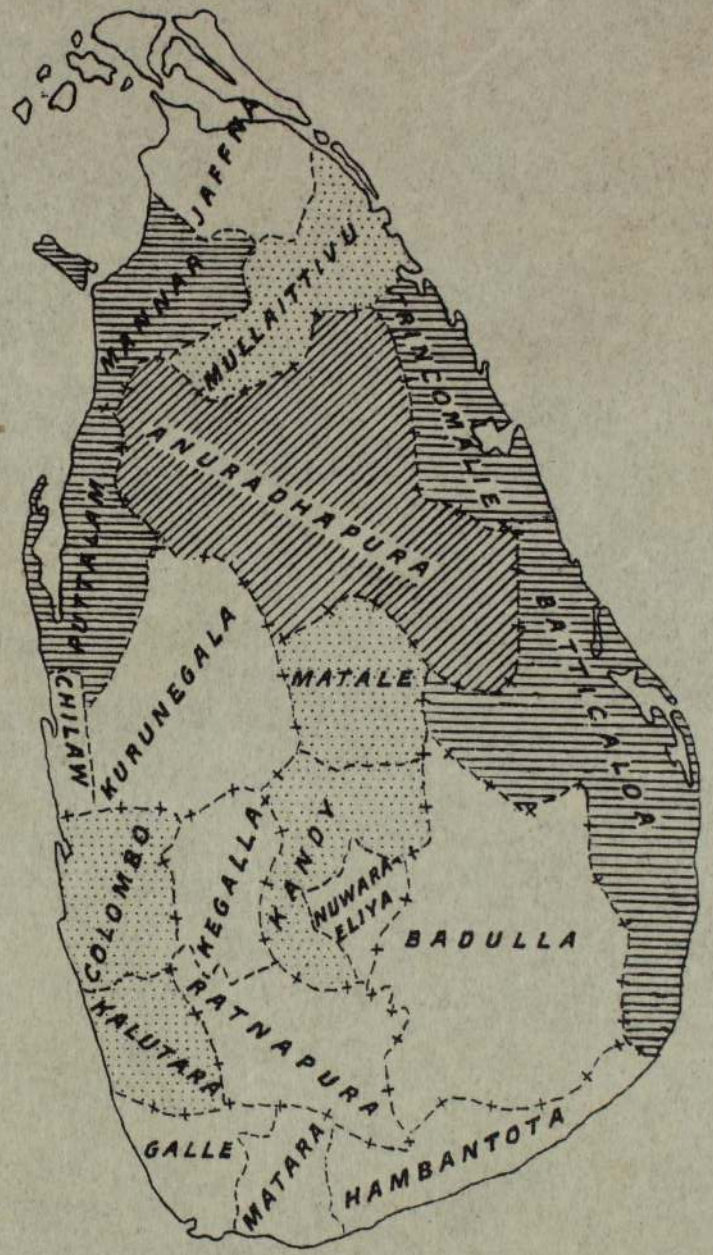
LOW-COUNTRY SINHALESE



KANDYAN SINHALESE



TAMILS*



MOORS

* *Within the central demarcated area, over 95% of the Tamils in any District are Indian Tamils. In the North and East the Ceylon Tamils predominate.*

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SEMINOLE COUNTY

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